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intercourse with other women, that is natural, although it is a dangerous affair; but remember that he is a man, and that you are a woman: between the two there is no possible comparison. A man may take many liberties, while a woman may take none. What are peccadilloes in a man, are crimes in a woman. Beware of deceitful men who would come to entice you away from your rightful owner. Take heed in time, since once the thing is done, there is no longer a remedy, and repentance is too late".

831 834 837

At my first visit to Nagbabalayan, a companion of mine wanted to take the picture of an Isneg woman who was pounding rice near her house. When he invited her to pose for him, she quickly demurred and added: "I am a married woman". She evidently misunderstood him, but the answer sufficiently proved what was her opinion about her responsibilities.

On a certain occasion my catechist, an Iloko Christian, went to light his cigar at that of a woman, who came smoking to the river, in order to draw water. Not knowing about his intentions, I was not able to warn him. Fortunately as he was my servant and a stranger at that, everything went on smoothly, although the woman at first strongly objected. The point was that she was married, and no Isneg is allowed to take such liberties with the wife of another man: in the eyes of an Isneg acting that way means much more familiarity than an uninitiated person might suspect. This shows how strictly a married woman is hedged in, and how easily a man may be offended by an action that implies the smallest degree of familiarity with his wife.

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On my second visit to Bayag, in July 1929, I met there an Isneg policeman, who was an acquaintance of mine and who was a married man. On the day I was leaving Bayag, he also had to go to a neighboring settlement; so he accompanied me for a part of the road. Here I quote textually what he told me on that occasion, apparently indignant at the occurrence: "This morning I met with a strange case: a Bayag Isneg was scolding his daughter in my presence for having slept with me last night. I asked him if he objected to my using the girl, when she consented. He answered me he did not, of course, but he merely wanted to scold the girl; he said he had nothing against me, his intention was to teach his daughter decent manners. That was all right, of course, but why should he have done so while I was around and could hear him? He should have scolded the girl at a time I was out of earshot. Why! That fellow seemed to resent

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the fact that I had used his daughter. Can you beat it?" Needless to say, the conversation was practically a soliloquy on the part of the policeman. I do not believe though that his action was consonant with the Isneg code of morals; but this incident, and especially the answer of the girl's father, shows clearly how different is the state of man and woman among the Isneg, with reference to sex morality.

It should be added here that the father would probably have objected much more strongly to the man who took such liberties with his daughter, if he had not been a policeman. The latter are supposed to be more or less immune and may take liberties not accorded to others, probably on account of their position. Isneg in general resent that: I have heard them say so more than once; but they are afraid to object too strongly, and so policemen mostly do what they like: their reputation is far from clean all over the district, although I do not believe that they are all equally blamable. Later on I heard that, at the time of the above occurrence, the policeman had intended to make the girl his second wife, an engagement which had been broken off at a subsequent date.

It may be noted in this connection that among the Isneg a man, whether single or married, who commits adultery with a married woman (*manaládag*) is thought to be driven to his crime by some evil spirit. In such a case his guilt would be considerably lessened in our point of view; not so, however, in that of the Isneg: in his eyes, it is only the ultimate act that counts, as has been stated before.

"A fit of anger usually makes a man ridiculous in the eyes of the bystanders. It is true that when there is question of a rightful quarrel, you should never fail to sustain it; to be meek and patient under the circumstances would be mere cowardice. Nevertheless everybody is inclined to laugh at the behavior of an angry man: so, although you be strictly in your right, try to control your anger sufficiently not to cause others to laugh at you.

"You know our belief with reference to people who are wont to laugh at the defects of other persons (*magdóla*): if such people are married, they will be punished by having their children suffer the same defect; if they are still young, the children who will be born to them in the future will be misshapen (*pákań*).

"A certain amount of *básí* is not to be despised, but drinking to excess is always bad. Who respects a drunken man? Besides, think about the consequences: quarrels, fights, bloodshed, revenges, etc. As soon as you feel that you have enough, go away and sleep it off, lest

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4. *Actual Moral Behavior*

And now I come to the consideration of Isneg practice as compared with theory. I always promise to be brief, but I rarely live up to my promises; so I shall see what I can do about it now.

The Isneg are far less fanatical in matters religions than, for instance, the Kankanay. Their religious practices are also comparatively few and far between, and the women usually play the most important rôle. A person who disobeys (*saúran*) any injunction of the shaman is not considered as being a traitor; he is mostly left to his own devices, although his disobedience is not exactly lauded as an act of virtue. Nevertheless not only the old women, but also the old men are usually very punctual in complying with all directions of the shaman and in observing whatever their religious convictions impose upon them. I purposely say "old" men and women, as among the younger generation, this respect for the heathen practices of their tribe seems to be on the wane. The influence of the schools which are supposed to be neutral, is a decided factor in this matter. The teachers, being Christians, have no sympathy with what they call the superstitions and ridiculous practices of the Isneg. Although perhaps they keep these sentiments to themselves during school hours, the sparseness of the population in a district where schoolboys and schoolgirls very often live far from the schoolhouse, forces many of the latter to remain in the immediate neighborhood of the teacher's house for five consecutive days every week, which necessarily allows the influence of the Christian schoolmaster to be very far-reaching.

Besides, Christians are entering Apáyaw in large numbers every year, some to stay, others as transient guests. Since the country is practically pacified, nothing keeps them back any more, and so they also exert an undermining influence on all matters that relate to Isneg religion as such. This immigration coupled with Isneg temporary emigration, tends to teach the people the futility and even the error of their beliefs. Indeed an Isneg who enters the Ilóko or Kagayan country, and stays there for a certain time, cannot fail to bring back a spirit of indifference with reference to his native religion.

It may be the place here to say a few words anent the relations of the Isneg with the Catholic missionary. In general it must be said that all over the Mountain Province the priest has usually met with the sympathy of the natives. During the Philippine Revolution against Spain, when Spanish friars were taken into custody by the

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up a good many friendships, and it is the starting point of not a few quarrels among them. Voluntary talebearing, by which I mean here reporting to the interested person the gossip that somebody has spread about him, is, as far as I can judge about the matter, rather rare, at least among men.

Drunkenness is a vice that is mostly indulged in only at the time of some *sáy-ám* or other sacrifice, and this mostly by old men. Comparing their use of intoxicating drinks with what I have seen in civilized countries, I should say that the Isneg is a temperate man. Nevertheless theory is stricter than practice, except in the case of youth.

Three points are still to be considered now, namely: chastity, honesty and truthfulness.

And first as to chastity and the virtues related to it. Complete nudity is habitual among youngsters under six years of age; the little coat usually worn even by small boys, is not sufficiently long to cover them decently. Such nakedness is not considered shameful as long as the children are small; nevertheless there is some ground for concluding that it may have an effect upon sex behavior. Indeed small children are very often tickled (*magkuríra-*, *kurirkán*) in order to cause them to laugh, and this tickling is very commonly practised on or near the genitals, not only by the parents, but also by young boys and girls; especially in the case of small boys, the principal use of their penis seems to be that of being fingered by every passer-by.

As soon as the child is able to lisp a few words, the pronunciation by the child of any obscene term that finds its way into the child's vocabulary is greeted with laughter; and if later on foul language is heard to proceed from the small boy's mouth, he is applauded for his cleverness instead of being chastised for his forwardness. Little girls are usually brought up in a less dirty atmosphere, as the mother takes care of them almost exclusively as soon as they are able to walk; but little or no separation of the sexes at night is insisted upon during the first years of the little Isneg's life.

Everything considered, the sight of nudity in both sexes, touching of one another's genitals without reproof, the early excitation of the boys' genitals through indecent handling by older children and adults, the use of dirty speech without the least restraint and almost with encouragement, all these combined can do nothing else but detract from the efficiency of subsequent teaching on sex morality. The existence of the term *kassár* seems to support my inference; *kassár*

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583 and, if they consider them to be as valuable as that, it is their own
435 business after all. The same may be said with reference to the beads:
422 a single one, if very valuable in the eyes of the natives, may command the price of a carabao or water buffalo, from thirty to fifty dollars, while other ones may be had almost for the asking.

583 All these jars are earthenware of Chinese make, imported from
435 China long before the arrival of the Spaniards; consequently an-
422 tiquity is an important item in the estimation of their value. Jars
353 that have been imported recently usually command a much lower
415 price. A great many of the beads also antedate the coming of the
178 Spaniards and were also originally imported from China. Actually,
523 however, beads of all kinds have been put on the market and their origin is very often shrouded in mystery. Isneg plates are all made of coarse earthenware and have mostly been introduced from China; but, although most of them date from comparatively recent times, they are still of the same kind, shape, color and composition as those
291 they have replaced, as may be proved by fragments occasionally
286 unearthed in places formerly inhabited by Isneg. These people cer-
439 tainly hold fast to their old ways and customs; modern crockery is not to their taste. As the Isneg do not weave their own clothes, the latter have of necessity to be bought from outsiders.

584 During the *amómān* it is also decided whether the boy has to stay
583 with his parents-in-law or not, and for how long in case he has to
591 do so, which is the customary way. The number of years varies very much, as some stay three years, others from five to ten, and even in a few cases the husband never goes back to the house of his own parents.

574 No really important business can be transacted, of course, among
584 the Isneg, without remembering the cravings of the stomach. In the
262 ordinary course of events one or more pigs are slaughtered according to the social standing of the girl's parents. If they are too poor to indulge in such prodigality, a chicken will do. In both cases a dog may complete the menu, although this is not absolutely required. No special name is given to the killing and consuming of the chicken; but if one or more pigs enter the lists, the whole ceremony is called *pildáp*. Nevertheless in a few isolated cases, when the people are much too poor, the banquet is completely left out, and the deliberations are conducted on empty stomachs.

584 All during the *amómān* the men conduct everything that is con-
574 nected with the *pildáp*. The *dorarákit* or shamaness does not inter-
562 fere in the least.

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fere in the least: consequently she does not *maxanito* or impersonate the spirits of the dead, and remains completely in the background, if indeed she happens to be present. And the same is true with reference to the *ákit* or marriage ceremony: here also there is a feast and a killing of animals, but no *maxanito*. The Isneg probably believe that spirits and ghosts have nothing to do with something that is exclusively the business of living human beings, as an *amómān* or betrothal and an *ákit* or marriage undoubtedly are.

Nevertheless it may happen that the *amómān* takes place at the time a *sáy-ám* sacrifice is in progress at the house of the girl, and then of course the *maxanito* will be performed as usual, as no ceremonies connected with the customary *sáy-ám* are ever omitted; but this *maxanito* will generally be performed before the arrival of the *patúgān*, and in any case it has nothing to do with the *amómān*. The only reason why an *amómān* slightly interferes with the ceremonies of the *sáy-ám* is the fact that on such coincidences the female spirit *Sisiná* has to be especially remembered. Two coconut shells, one partly filled with *básí* (a beverage obtained from sugar cane) and another one partially filled with dog's blood, have to be put down in her honor somewhere along the path that leads to the spot where the women draw water for drinking purposes. This is done in order to induce *Sisiná* to look after the young couple and to see to it that both are of one mind and avoid all disputes and altercations.

The *amómān*, at least if it has resulted to the satisfaction of everybody, does not interfere in the least with the usual nocturnal visits of the groom to the house of the bride. He continues to *maxal-allây* as before, that is, to sleep with her, and even to have coitus if they so desire. Actually in several districts they even translate the term *maxamómān* by that of *maxatáwa*, "to marry"; and in this case, of course, the subsequent ceremony of the *ákit*, after which the two young people are allowed to live together, must in their minds have lost most of its significance.

B. WEDDING RITES AND CUSTOMS

A certain period of time always elapses between the *amómān* and the real marriage or *ákit*, but it is impossible to determine exactly its length. In some cases a month is sufficient for all interested parties to prepare themselves properly for this most important ceremony; in others, even a whole year may pass by before the marriage finally takes place.

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of the girl's parents, or if he is a married man, both husband and wife remain where they are after the *lablabág* ceremony, namely in the house of the husband or in that of his parents.

C. FAMILY LIFE

It is not rare to find two or more Isneg families living in one and the same house, as these are usually very roomy. And so it may take a long time before any of the married sons attempt to live elsewhere. This is also a boon to the old people, of course, as in this way they always find a home for their old age with one of their married children.

From now on the young wife will have little time for pleasure, and, although it would be wrong to call her a slave, in our eyes at least she will be leading the life of a drudge. She will be the first to begin work and the last to finish it. Every day she will have to prepare the meals and to clean the dishes; most of her mornings, if not her entire days, will be passed in the field; and when coming back home in the afternoon, she will have to comply with her usual household duties: pound the rice or grind the corn, and feed the hogs. Most of the time she will have to nurse a baby while attending to her other work, not that the little ones come in such quick succession, as usually at least a year and a half elapses between the birth of two children, and very often one or more of them die in infancy, but because the time of nursing is not confined to the first year of her babe: even children two and three years old may be found occasionally partaking of their mother's milk and using it as a supplementary food.

The husband on the contrary will find his married life to be very little different from what he had been used to before. His life may perhaps even appear lighter to him now than it was before he contracted marriage, as he will be mostly his own master, and he will not pass so many sleepless nights as when, as a young man, he was assiduously courting the girls, a custom that plays havoc with the health of a good many Isneg boys.

1. Domestic Relationships

The Isneg husband is the head of the family, and ultimate decisions are always taken by him; nevertheless the woman is no unimportant entity in the government of the house. An Isneg man rarely transacts any important business without the consent of the women folk, and he is usually humble and obedient at the smallest hint of his

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592 wife. Especially when the women have attained a more or less ad-
562 vanced age, their tongue usually rules the household; and in this
578 they have a very sharp-cutting instrument indeed. The husband
may occasionally vindicate his authority, but most of the time he
[201] shrinks from the women's displeasure. Besides, as a last resort, they always have their tears ready at hand; I have assisted more than once, although involuntarily, at family scenes in which the quarrel ended with a flow of tears on the part of the wife and subsequent awkwardness in the manner of the more or less aggressive husband, who finally could find no other way out but meekly to explain, to try to soothe, and to submit. An old woman, be she married or widowed, has generally more than one say in the family. And if a woman has been consecrated a shamaness while in her early childhood, then she commands the respect not only of the household but of her neighbors as well, or rather inspires them with a kind of reverential awe, especially if she is advanced in years.

To resume, both parties help each other in their own way: the husband has a woman to look after his daily needs, and the wife, although taking the lion's share of the work, does not lack compensation in the fact that from now on she has a ready listener whenever she wants to pronounce one of her philippics.

837 As has been amply shown in the preceding pages, and as will appear even more clearly from what will be said of divorce, there can be no question among the Isneg of allowing anybody access to one's wife or of exchanging wives with another man.

831 Do Isneg husbands and wives love each other? It has been said
593 about other tribes, here in the Mountain Province, that in their case marriage is nothing else but a juxtaposition of two people, a man and a woman, that the husband is more like a stranger to his wife, that mutual love between husband and wife is something completely unknown. This may perhaps be true with some of them, although I doubt very much if such sweeping statements are entirely consonant with the facts. But does it apply to the Isneg? It must be conceded that in the question of marital love, just as in that of gratitude, outward manifestations are exceedingly sparse among the Isneg. It is also a fact that husband and wife never or almost never work together, which after all is not exactly peculiar to primitive people. But can we truly say that mutual love is unknown between an Isneg husband and his wife? I should answer most emphatically in the negative: Isneg man and wife most certainly love each other. Nevertheless it

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find its abode to its taste, and may creep out stealthily, shake off with both hands the earth that clung to it while winding its way out, and roam around at night feeding on chickens and charcoal (*bergdú*). That it feeds on chickens proves that the *balañóbáñ* is really alive; that it feeds on charcoal shows that its life is not that of an ordinary human being. 775

These *balañóbáñ* are also supposed to be very fond of annoying the women who go to work in the field: which seems but natural, as the women are usually much more afraid of ghosts than the men, and consequently will imagine much more easily that they have to do with a phantom, whenever they see something more or less out of the ordinary. Nevertheless, all Isneg, whether men or women, believe in *balañóbáñ*, and I rarely met a man who did not positively assure me that he had seen one. Crossroads (*sisiníyán*) seem also to be a favorite haunt of these *balañóbáñ:* the Isneg state that a *sisiníyán* is the usual place where they can be encountered, so that anybody who is anxious to meet a ghost, should lie in wait at a *sisiníyán*, and he will rarely be disappointed. 775 562 775 778

In some places, in order to prevent a dead body from leaving its tomb, the Isneg sometimes put a heavy stone (only one) upon the lid of the coffin, inside the grave; in others stones were placed on top of the tomb, after it has been filled up: but I doubt very much if the latter practice is resorted to by the Isneg with the purpose of keeping the buried corpse at bay. The description of tombs and of all purely magical practices which are of use in Apayaw, either to cause a dead body to leave its tomb and annoy the neighbors, or to prevent it from doing so, will find its place further on. 764 775

What does a *balañóbáñ* look like? All Isneg agree that it has the shape of a man and that it is full of worms, but beyond this nothing definite can be gathered from native informants. When you ask people who live in more civilized areas and pretend to have seen ghosts, what the latter look like, you may get as many answers as there are informants, the one answer as vague as the other. The Isneg, like some weak-minded and credulous people among our own, see a ghost, especially at night, in every gnarled branch of a tree, in every disfigured shape, which they cannot clearly distinguish. The generality of the Isneg, if not all of them, will assure you most positively that they have seen real ghosts, and indeed they see ghosts at night in everything whose shape does not seem to correspond to something known to them, whether it be earth or stone, plant or animal, 775

24:Scott H,M-4,5 (1954-1960) 1966
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342
335 which protrudes beyond the ends of the house to pro-
192 tect the smoke holes in the gables.
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The Isneg house not being square in plan, its op-
341 posite ends are quite different from one another. At
342 one end, just outside but a bit higher than the transverse
335 beam into which the upper ends of the wall-boards are
[824] rabbeted, is another transverse beam whose upper edge is grooved to receive a second tier of wall boards which close the upper section of the gable save for a few feet at the top which are left open as a smoke hole or only loosely covered with horizontal bamboo. The other end of the house terminates in a kind of transverse platform or annex with a lean-to roof up against the gable itself; at the outer two corners of this little annex, in line with the full width of the building, are two more *sinit*-posts under the wall itself, a circumstance which has led some observers to report with slightly dramatic exaggeration that the floor, walls and roof of the Isneg house are supported on three separate sets of posts. The floor of
[513] this annex is slightly higher than even the little side
[562] platforms of the house proper; Cole reported fifty years ago that it was a special sleeping area for men,[104] and H. Otley Beyer recalls that women were not even al-
342 lowed to set foot there.[105] In the long sides of the house three or four windows are produced simply by omitting some of the wall-boards; since the door opens into one of these sides, however, it might be more appropriate to refer to it as the "front" rather than "side".
[417] Entrance is gained by means of a permanent short flight of steps or ladder.

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[104] Cole, Fay-Cooper, "Distribution of the Non-Christian Tribes of Northwest Luzon," *American Anthropologist*, new series, Vol. XI, No. 3 (July-September 1909), p. 347.

[105] Personal statement during interview in Manila on Feb. 19, 1962.